1: Jenness--32 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 101

"Earlier writers have distinguished a number of 'tribes' among the Copper Eskimos; but the term 'tribe,' if we use it at all, should be given a very broad interpretation, for the groups into which these natives divide themselves have none of the permanence and stability that we are accustomed to associate with tribes in other parts of the world. It is true that each group has its local name, a name derived from the district it habitually frequents in summer; but the individual members are constantly changing from one group to another, not merely temporarily for some special purpose, such as the acquisition of stone lamps and pots or the obtaining of wood for sleds and tables, but permanently also, whenever the new district offers greater advantages, especially in the matter of game. At the east end of Coronation gulf, when a native was asked what district he belonged to, he would sometimes answer 'Oh, I have many homes, Asiak, Pingangnaktok, Nennitak, Kilusiktok, I have lived in them all, both when I was young and since I reached manhood.' Another would say 'It makes no difference which you call my home, Puivlik, Kogloktok, Nennitak, Kiglinik or Kilusiktok, for I have lived in all those places.' A native who is living in Bathurst inlet one year, may be hunting in the Coppermine region the next, while still later you may find him in south-west Victoria island. In a settlement of Eskimos at the Duke of York archipelago in February, 1915, there were representatives of the following districts: Kilusiktok, Nagyuktok, Asiak, Kogloktok, Pallik, Walliak, Puivlik, Noahognik, Hanerak, Akulliakattak and Kanghiryuak. By representatives in this case is meant that the natives had

lived most of their lives in one or other of these districts, although they were all amalgamated at that particular time into one settlement at the west end of Coronation gulf. A year later, in a settlement off the mouth of the Tree river, only four out of thirteen adults called themselves Tree river natives proper (Pingangnaktok); one came from Kilusiktok, one from Asiak near the Coppermine river, one from the Coppermine itself, four from Walliak, one from Noahognik and one from Akulliakattak."

fifty yards south away from the rest.' These natives had crossed over to Ingnerin on Victoria island, where they were joined by three families who had spent the summer on Victoria island. Early in January this community was still at Ingnerin, living in eleven snow huts; by March they had moved south into the middle of the strait, and were there joined by some of their eastern neighbours. Two families came with our party to Victoria island in the summer of 1915, others went east, and only about six families returned to the region of Stapylton bay. [34]

Mr. Stefansson found thirteen families encamped on the ice north of Cape Bexley in the spring of 1910, though a settlement of over forty houses but a short time before had been deserted near Hope point. He states that Cape Bexley is a trading rendezvous where people from the east come to visit the Akulliakattangmiut, even from the east coast of Victoria island. This did not happen during the time that the expedition remained in the neighbourhood, (1) though natives from the east end of Coronation gulf visited the Dolphin and Union strait Eskimos when they were camped in the neighbourhood of the Liston and Sutton islands, both in 1915 and 1916. Normally this intercourse

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"1. Nor has it happened since then, the Rev. Mr. Girling informs me."

1: Jenness--33-41 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 101

"It is necessary to bear all this in mind, [AW: to bear in mind that there is much shifting of individuals and groups.] therefore, when attempting to classify the different groups that are actually found in the country at the present day. Mr. Stefansson has given a fairly accurate list of them; and a map showing their relative locations. The most westerly group on the mainland is the one round Stapylton bay, known as the Akulliakattangmiut. They gather in the fall at Lake Akulliakattak, which is not, as Mr. Stefansson believed, the source of the Rae river, but a large lake, comparatively speaking, some three miles south of South bay. There they sew their new clothing before the sun disappears for the winter night, which in this latitude, allowing for refraction, occurs about November 25; as soon as the ice is firm enough, they migrate out past Cape Bexley. It was at Cape Bexley that one of our sledging parties, on December 23, 1914, found a village they had just deserted. It consisted of eight snow houses, or rather of two double houses and four single ones. Dr. Anderson recorded in his diary, 'The natives had evidently come from the south along the coast (of South bay), camped here one night, and gone on this morning, passing just round the point, thence straight out on the ice in the direction of Victoria island. The houses were scarcely iced inside, so the Eskimos must have been short of blubber for fuel, and had probably just come from inland. One double house was about fifty yards north of the others, one double and three single houses were in a close bunch, and a single house was about one hundred and

took place just before spring, about the beginning of March, when the days were long and travelling much less difficult. In the fall of 1915, however, a large band of Eskimos from the Coppermine river region, attracted by the prospects of trade with the expedition, came west into Dolphin and Union strait, and camped first at Bernard harbour, then with the local natives at one of the Liston and Sutton islands.

Opposite the Akulliakattangmiut, on the other side of the strait, once lived the Haneragmiut, the 'people on the side of the land.' Mr. Stefansson estimated their number at about forty, and states that 'a few of them each year hunt on the mainland with the Akulliakattangmiut or farther east, but the larger number go north into the Colville mountains to a fishing lake called Tahiryuak, where they also get numerous caribou, and where.... they some years meet a few representatives of the Kangianermiut.' These latter people, he says in another place, are the inhabitants of the mouth of the Rae river. There was a settlement of about seventeen Haneragmiut people near Tulukak which he visited in the spring of 1910.

In the summer of 1915 the region of Hanerak was entirely uninhabited, save for my own party, which extended its wanderings into this portion of the country as well as over Puivlik to the eastward. The Eskimos said that the Haneragmiut were extinct as a separate group; several had died one summer near a small lake named Pisiksitorvik in the Colville hills, and the rest soon became dispersed among the surrounding groups,

so that now the district is often uninhabited. In 1916 only one family intended to hunt there; they were encamped on the shore near Point Williams in the month of June, fishing in the lakes and hunting in the hills immediately behind the point. One of our western natives shot a bearded seal on the ice and offered them most of the meat, but they had so much meat and blubber of their own that they refused even to drag the animal to shore and cache it. There are at least two lakes named Tahiryuak in this region, and still another northeast of Prince Albert sound, but the best known of them all is the lake where my party of strait natives met the Prince Albert sound Eskimos in the summer of 1915. This is probably the one that Mr. Stefansson heard of, though the natives who normally meet there are the Kanghiryuarmiut from the north and the Eskimos, particularly the Puivlirmiut, from Dolphin and Union strait. (2)

The Noahognirmiut are the next group to the east on the mainland. In the summer of 1914 there were nineteen people inhabiting this district, all of whom called themselves Noahognirmiut, though two of them when cross-questioned named other places as their

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"2. Mr. Stefansson has since explained to me that the word Kangianermiut in the passage quoted above is obviously an error for Kanghiryuarmiut."

original homes. During most of the summer they wandered about in two separate bands, but two of the natives kept changing about from one band to the other. In the autumn the two bands came down to the coast at different times. The first to arrive, on November. 12th, consisted of two families only, six people in all who made their camp at the mouth of a creek four miles east of Bernard harbour where they had left their caches in the spring. Here they stayed for about three weeks, then, early in December, they crossed the strait and joined the Puivlik Eskimos at the mouth of the Kimiryuak river. The other band, thirteen in [35] number, did not reach the coast till the end of November, when they camped on the north end of Chantry island. On December 5th they migrated across to the Liston and Sutton islands and commenced their winter sealing, though one of the men had already done a little sealing from the mainland. The Puivlik Eskimos from Victoria island joined them just before the new year, and the two groups remained united until the spring.

In the following summer, 1915, about forty Eskimos from various groups wandered about in Noahognik, while most of the nineteen who were there in the previous year went away to other districts. In the spring of 1916 about ninety Eskimos were hunting and fishing in Noahognik, several of whom had come from as far east as Bathurst inlet; many of them, however, probably went down to the Rae river valley about July or August. The increase in the number of inhabitants during these two summers was due to the

presence of the expedition and the opportunities for trade that it offered, [sic] In earlier times there were probably not more than twenty inhabitants, for the region is noticeably lacking in caribou, especially in mid-summer, when their skins are of the greatest value to the Eskimos.

Opposite the Noahognirmiut, on Victoria island, are the people called Puivlirmiut, who wander in summer over all the country between the Colville hills and the shores of Simpson bay as far south as Point Dickens. When I first met them at the end of November, 1914, they were encamped some two or three miles up the estuary of the Kimiryuak river in nine double houses, houses, that is to say, that comprised two rooms each, with a single passage way leading to both. There were then 56 people, but the number was increased to 62 a few days later by the addition of two families from Noahognik. In the following summer eighteen natives, all closely connected by kinship or by marriage, were hunting and fishing in the districts of Puivlik and Hanerak; in the autumn they all gathered together at the mouth of the Okauvarvik creek. Three other families (thirteen people), who were wandering at the same time a little to the southeast, came down in the autumn to Clouston bay. In 1916, late in the spring, more than thirty people were encamped at the south end of Clouston bay, and one family had gone to the northwest; all of them intended to spend the summer in Puivlik.

In the month of December, when the sealing on the ice commences, the Puivlik and

Noahognik Eskimos regularly unite at the Liston and Sutton[36] islands, the particular island each winter being determined by the condition of the ice in the vicinity and the positions of the best sealing grounds. The Akulliakattak Eskimos used to join the Haneragmiut at the same time a little to the west, either on the south coast of Victoria island near Ingnerin, or else in the middle of the strait between that place and Cape Bexley. At Christmas, 1914, the number of natives at the Liston and Sutton islands was 75, whereas at Ingnerin there were about 40. In the following year about the same period there were no natives at all at the latter place, but 139 at the former, since all the Eskimos in the strait, and even some from Coronation gulf, had assembled at Bernard harbour a short time before in order to trade with the expedition. In February, after the sun returns, the island groups usually move west a few miles to new and unexhausted sealing-grounds. It was during this month, in 1915, that the two bands in the strait amalgamated, and I was assured that this was their usual custom, though the meeting is frequently postponed until March. (1) Some time in March, too, they are

"1. The Rev. Mr. Girling informs me that in 1918 they did not amalgamate at all. The Puivlirmiut and Noahognirmiut were camped near Cape Lambert in March, while the Akulliakattangmiut were at the Liston and Sutton islands."

regularly visited by the Eskimos of Coronation gulf, and all the groups undergo reshuffling, some of the visitors remaining in the west to spend the summer in the districts bordering on Dolphin and Union strait, while some of the local natives go east to Coronation gulf.

Mr. Stefansson mentions several tribal divisions at the west end of Coronation gulf. He states that the Kangianermiut or Uallirgmiut, to the number of about 30, occupy the headwaters of the Rae river; the Pallirmiut, who number perhaps 40, occupy the basin of the same river; the Kogluktogmiut, numbering about 30, inhabit the valley of the Coppermine river, and the Kugaryuarmiut, numbering 25, the basin of the Kugaryuak river, eighteen miles east of the Coppermine. On the opposite side of the gulf, on Victoria island, Mr. Stefansson mentions the Nagyuktogmiut and the Killinermiut, two names, he considers, for a single tribe that numbers about fifty.

Some of these groups are no longer in existence. Neither myself, nor the Rev. Mr. Girling later, ever heard of a people called Kangianermiut, while as regards the alternative name Mr. Stefansson gives for them, Uallirgmiut (or, as it sounded to me Uwalliarmiut), this was the usual designation of all the Eskimos who gathered for the winter's sealing at the west end of Coronation gulf. Uwalliak or Walliak (for the 'U' is always faint and often imperceptible), as nearly as I could discover, is or was a name for Richardson river, which empties into the same estuary as the Rae. More rarely these natives were called Pallirmiut, or Rae river Eskimos. In reality, any division

into groups that may have existed formerly has now been obliterated, and even the natives themselves have ceased to make any distinctions. Some men when pressed would say that they were originally Pallirmiut, but often they would add that the Pallirmiut were extinct now; and whenever they gave themselves a name of their own accord if[sic] was generally either Uwalliarmiut or Kogluktomiut. Another group name that was sometimes heard was Asiagmiut, from Asiak, a district that lies apparently between the Coppermine and the Kugaryuak rivers; I never heard any natives call themselves Kugaryuarmiut, though the term would be quite a natural one. Nagyuktok, according to most of the Eskimos, includes all the islands off the south shore of Victoria island between about 113° W. and 111° W., north and northwest of the Jamieson islands. Hence they said it was uninhabited in summer, since the natives are unable to exist on small islands at that season, but must go either to the mainland or to Victoria island to the north. On the other hand one or two natives, when questioned as to where they intended to spend the summer of 1916, said they were going to Nagyuktok, meaning the south portion of Victoria island between perhaps Lady Franklin point and the Richardson islands. Thus there would seem to [37] be two uses of the word, one restricting its meaning to the islands just mentioned, the other including with them the country to the northward, which really lies between Puivlik and Kiglinik. Possibly this latter meaning was the older of the two, since the Nagyuktomiut were perhaps the most widely known

of all the groups in this region, their fame reaching even to the Eskimos of the Mackenzie delta. The name Nagyuktok, according to some natives, was given to this region because of the abundance of caribou there (nagyuk, horn); they seemed not to know of the legend recorded from the Baillie islanders by Mr. Stefansson, that the people were called Nagyuktomiut because they fought for their wives with caribou antlers. (1)

Native tradition, joined to the present confusion of group names, seems to indicate a considerable decrease in the population of Coronation gulf within recent times. The most northerly island in the Duke of York archipelago is named Inyuernerit, 'the uninhabited place,' because a great number of Eskimos died there long ago. (2) The island is now generally avoided for that reason. In the summer of 1912 or 1913 (my informants were a little indefinite about the exact date) there were fifteen deaths among the West Coronation gulf Eskimos, whereas in the summer of 1914 there was only one. (3)

"1. Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimo, p. 159."

"2. Mr. Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H. Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 131) says that about 40 (?) natives died there some 15 years before, i. e. about 1895."

"3. Possibly there was an epidemic of influenza contracted from the white men or Indians at Great Bear lake. But cf. Amundsen, Vol. II, p. 329."

Whatever the reason may be, at the present day at least no definite groups can be distinguished at the west end of Coronation gulf. Natives gather there from all the surrounding regions; some are on their way to the soapstone deposits farther to the eastward; others are seeking for copper or wood between the Coppermine and the Dismal lakes; while others again merely come to hunt in a region where caribou are known to be plentiful. Within the last few years, too, there has been the additional motive of trade with Indians and white men at Great Bear lake. In the autumn these natives assemble at various points according to their hunting grounds in the summer. Some of them gather together on the south shore of Victoria island, others at the mouth of the Rae river; but the majority assemble on one of the small islands a few miles east of the mouth of the Coppermine river, where they have left their caches in the spring safe from the depredations of wolverines and foxes. In winter they all unite into a single settlement close to the Berens islands, and when the sun returns at the beginning of the year they gradually work their way northwards towards Cape Krusenstern, whence visits can easily be made to the natives farther west. A few go east at this season, while natives from east and west join up with this central group till its character is totally changed. Then in the spring, about May, the natives fall back to the coast again, different bands separate according to the localities in which they intend to pass the summer, and the cycle begins over again.

In February, 1915, we found all the natives of this region gathered into one settlement in the Duke of York archipelago. There were twenty-three huts, and the number of inhabitants was somewhere between seventy and eighty. Most of them followed us west in the following month, and spent two or three days at Bernard harbour, and two or three more with the natives in the strait. Three or four families stayed there; the rest moved slowly east again, and dispersed to the land at various places between Cape Krusenstern and the Coppermine river. In the autumn of the same year many of these natives, as soon as the ice enabled them to travel by sled, came again to Bernard harbour -- an innovation in their ordinary movements occasioned by the presence of the expedition. Others again came from as far east as Tree river, till by November 29 no less than one hundred and twenty-seven natives were living alongside of us, some in tents, but the majority in snow huts. A few, about fifteen altogether, [38] had not yet crossed over from Victoria island, and a band of perhaps fifty had remained behind somewhere near the mouth of the Coppermine river. These Coppermine people moved northwards at the end of January, and by the middle of February had camped off Locker point in a settlement of fifteen snow huts. Roughly speaking, therefore, at the date of the expedition's arrival, there were about 180 people in Dolphin and Union strait and at the west end of Coronation gulf. Now that other white men and western natives are finding their way into the country, Eskimos from all the surrounding regions will prob-

ably gravitate to these parts, and the different groups will amalgamate even more than they have done up to the present.

Farther east there was a small group located around the Tree river, though it extended east as far as Grays bay. Its members called themselves Pingangnaktomiut, Pingangnaktok being the name of the district south and east of Tree river. Some of the older natives had not moved out of this locality for a great many years. In the summer of 1915 there were nineteen natives (fourteen adults and six children) fishing on the Tree river itself, and ten others (seven adults and three children) fishing on the Anialik river which flows into Grays bay. (1) In February, 1916, seventeen adults and eight children were living in snow huts about seven miles north of Tree river, and six others (four adults and two children) were travelling between this settlement and Bernard harbour. The majority of these natives moved in to the mouth of the Tree river at the beginning of May, and probably spent the summer in that vicinity.

About seven miles northwest of the most western of the Jamieson islands we found another settlement early in the same year. Here the natives called themselves vaguely

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"1. Hanbury found natives fishing at Grays bay in the late spring of 1903."

Kilusiktomiut, but different groups had their representatives amongst them. A few days before our arrival (on March 2, 1916) they had moved from a still larger settlement some ten miles northeast, where we found the twenty-nine snow-huts they had just abandoned. Thirty-five of their number had gone west to Bernard harbour, and about half the remainder went northeast. About a dozen of the latter were seen by the biologist, Mr. F. Johansen, in Wilbank bay on Victoria island on March 26, and a month later a sledging party met them in Bathurst inlet. At the beginning of May about thirty of these Kilusiktok natives were encamped on Hepburn island, whence they moved across into Grays bay a week or two later. At that time thirteen other natives were fishing about three miles east of Cape Barrow, and seven [39] more were at Banks peninsula. The remainder of the inhabitants of Bathurst inlet were lost to view inland, but more than fifty deserted snow-houses were seen on one of the Barry islands, Igloryuallik; the natives had evidently erected them in the previous autumn before they went out on the ice to seal, for a similar settlement was noticed a few miles farther north. After spending the summer in the country round Bathurst inlet the Eskimos regularly return at its close to this island of Igloryuallik to sew their winter clothing, while the natives round Grays bay repair at the same time to the north end of Hepburn island.

A few Eskimos fish and hunt each summer on the opposite shore of Victoria island.

The only name that I could obtain for this district was Kiglinik, and for the people Kiglinirmiut. Kiglinik means literally 'the back country,' and so might easily be applied to any district that lay north of any other. The Rev. Mr. Girling tells me that the Bathurst inlet natives often use the term Kiglinirmiut for any Victoria island Eskimos, even the Puivlirmiut to the westward. Nevertheless the word seemed to have a more restricted meaning as well, and to designate that portion of Victoria island that lies directly opposite Bathurst inlet. The natives here are never very numerous. They gather in the autumn somewhere on the coast till their winter clothing is completed, then move out on the ice and combine with the natives from the opposite shore. The total population at this end of Coronation gulf is apparently somewhere around two hundred.

Hanbury says (1) that the natives between Cape Bathurst and the Coppermine river are called Kuyakiyuarmiut, but the name seemed unknown to the Eskimos I met. Probably what he heard was Kugaryuarmiut, the people of the Kugaryuak river. There is a small river flowing into the bottom of Arctic sound, which, with the country surrounding

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"1. Hanbury, p.177."

it, is known by the name of Kilusiktok. Strictly speaking therefore, the Kilusiktomiut should be only those people who make this their summer home. (2) Actually, however, the name is used, both in Coronation gulf and farther west, for all the natives who spend the winter on the ice off Bathurst inlet. The western natives sometimes call these people Umingmaktomiut, from Umingmak, the high land on the east side of Bathurst inlet not far from the Barry islands. Mr. Stefansson heard of a rumour of a permanent village in this place, but rightly suspected its truth; probably it merely referred to the great autumn gathering at Igloryuallik. He mentions, too, the Kogluktualugmiut, or Tree river people (Kogluktualuk is the local name for the Tree river), who call themselves also the Utkusiksaligmiut, (3) and the Kogluktuaryumiut or people of the Kogluktuaryuk river which flows into Grays bay. None of these names seem to be

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"2. Mr. Stefansson was mistaken in supposing the Kilusiktomiut to be a Victoria island people."

"3. I think Mr. Stefansson may have been misled here by the meaning of the word Ukkusiksalik -- 'The place that possesses material for making pots,' and the fact of soapstone existing in this region. The Ukkusiksaligmiut, according to the testimony of the Coronation gulf natives themselves, dwell much farther east. They are usually located by other writers, e.g. Boas, at the mouth of Backs river, or between Backs river and Wager inlet."

used at the present day, though a few natives call themselves Nennitagmiut, or inhabitants of the district of Nennitak, which seems to be the country behind Cape Bathurst. As a matter of fact, any locality can potentially give its name to the people who habitually frequent it, so that it is possible at any time for a new group to arise and for an old one to drop out of existence. (4)

The natives say that the region about Bathurst inlet was very densely populated up to some three generations ago. Many of the people were then stricken with sickness and died; their bones are said to be visible still on a small island near Igloryuallik. (5) The country was thus left almost uninhabited, but it [40] was gradually peopled again

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"4. The Rev. M. Girling informs me that two new group names were adopted about 1917. The people who hunt in Southern Victoria island in what has been called Nagyuktok now call themselves Tuktuktomiut (i. e. the Caribou-hunters), while some natives who spent the summer round the Napaktoktok river a little west of Tree river call themselves Napaktoktomiut."

"5. Dease and Simpson found several human skeletons near Cape Franklin in 1838 (J. R. G. S. Vol. 9, p. 325)."

by natives from the surrounding districts. This would account for the present distribution of the population, the great numbers that dwell in Bathurst inlet, and the comparatively few that are scattered along the south coast of Victoria island and between Bathurst inlet and the Coppermine river on the mainland. The tradition is borne out also by the statements of individual natives as to their birthplaces. Relatively few of the men who were sealing off Bathurst inlet in the winter of 1916 had been born in that region; they had gone there from Umingmaktok, or from the Coppermine river area, or else from the opposite shore of Victoria island. Others again had been born there, but their parents or grand-parents were immigrants. One old man stated that his grandfather had come there by sled from Asiak, beyond Kent peninsula, accompanied by five other families. (1) Four of the families returned to Asiak, but the other two, including his grandfather, stayed on in Bathurst inlet, where their descendants are living still.

Two natives from Asiak, beyond Kent peninsula, were living off Bathurst inlet in the winter of 1916. One had come in the autumn, and was passing his first winter in the

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"1. His grandfather's name was Kingaulik; the other men in the party were Arnauyuk, Aumeyok, and Aitauk, and two others whose names he could not remember."

country. He had married a Kilusiktok woman, but intended to return in the spring to his native home and take his wife back with him. The Asiagmiut, he said, were more numerous than the Kilusiktok natives with whom he was living, more numerous too than the Ekaluktomiut on the opposite side of Dease strait. Mr. Stefansson understood from the Prince Albert sound natives that the Asiagmiut might number between fifty and a hundred, and this would correspond to my own information. Kent peninsula probably forms part of their country, though it is called by a name of its own, Kiglinguyak; nothing is known as to its inhabitants, if there be any at all at the present time. The Asiagmiut who visit the Bathurst inlet natives seem to travel by the same route as Hanbury, between Kent peninsula and the mainland. Rae met three natives near Cape Flinders, and Hanbury found others all the way from the east side of Kent peninsula to Ogden bay. Near Ogden bay there were six families in one settlement, and forty-five natives in another, but Hanbury does not mention to what group they belonged; possibly they were Asiagmiut also. Probably there are many local groups in this region just as elsewhere, though their names are not known to the western natives, who usually call all the people east of them Kivalirmiut (i.e., Easterners). Beyond the Asiagmiut, Coronation gulf natives know of the Netsilingmiut and one or two other groups, but they could give us no estimate concerning their numbers.

We did not meet with any natives from Ekaluktok, though some of them visited and

traded with the Bathurst inlet people in the spring of 1915, returning to their own country again before the ice broke up in the strait. The population of this group, according to the reports of other natives, was somewhere about fifty. The Rev. Mr. Girling has written to me stating that one of his mission parties, led by the Rev. E. Hester, visited the Ekaluktomiut in the winter of 1918, when they were encamped midway between Victoria island and Kent peninsula. At that time they numbered only a few families. Mr. Stefansson deduced a much higher estimate for the group, about two hundred, judging by the accounts he received from the Prince Albert sound natives; but either his estimate is exaggerated or only a small portion of the tribe frequents Dease strait. It was possibly these people whom Collinson met in the neighbourhood of Cambridge bay, though they then numbered between two and three hundred. More probably, however, they were Kiglinirmiut, since that group appears to have been far more important formerly than now. (2) Rae found no recent indications of people between Cambridge bay and Pelly point, but Lieutenant Hansen came upon thirty or forty natives in the

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"2. Collinson, p. 284. The Bathurst inlet patrol found many of the Bathurst inlet natives calling themselves 'Killin-e-miut.'"

neighbourhood of Taylor island. He under- [41] stood from them that they were Kilnermiun, i.e., Kiglinirmiut, but Mr. Stefansson asserts that they were Ekaluktomiut. (1) I am rather inclined to believe, however, that Hansen was right, or at least that some of them may have been Kiglinirmiut. It is worth noting that on his return journey Hansen saw two of their sled trails running south to De Haven point, indicating that two families at least intended to pass the summer somewhere on the southeast coast, not inland from Albert Edward bay; the season was too late for them to be crossing the strait. The two groups are certainly contiguous, and Schwatka expressly states that the Netsilingmiut and the Ugyulingmiut used to meet the 'Qidneliq' of Coronation gulf, which indicates that the latter people were accustomed to travel eastward. (2) Mr. C. Leden tells me that the Eskimos on the west shore of Hudson bay apply the term Kiglinirmiut to the inhabitants of Bathurst inlet. But until these eastern natives have been actually visited and studied, it is better to leave their exact numbers and group divisions undefined. (3)

"1. Amundsen, Vol. II, p. 329; Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimo, p. 283 et seq."

"2. Science, Vol. IV, 1884, p. 543, quoted by Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 465."

"3. Further information on this region that has come to hand later will be found in the appendix."

One region has not been mentioned, the west coast of Victoria island, where two groups are now living, the Kanghiryuarmiut of Prince Albert sound and the Kanghiryuatjagmiut of Minto inlet. Lieutenant Jago, who was with Collinson in 1852, met about a hundred natives in Prince Albert sound who probably belonged to the former of these two groups. About fifty other natives were wintering at the same time near Walker bay, in which region McClure had met five families. Our chief knowledge of these groups, however, comes from Mr. Stefansson, who visited the Prince Albert sound people in the spring of 1911, when he estimated their number at two hundred or a little over. The northern party of the Canadian Arctic expedition had a base at Cape Kellett from 1914 to 1916, and in 1915 another was established near Armstrong Point, in Prince of Wales strait. From both of these places our people had many dealings with the northern natives, and Mr. G. H. Wilkins, the photographer of the expedition, made the same estimate of their number as Mr. Stefansson. Mr. Wilkins further informs me that in the winter of 1914-15 the Kanghiryuarmiut were encamped near the entrance of Prince Albert sound, while the Kanghiryuatjagmiut, who comprised only about half a dozen families (Mr. Stefansson estimated their number at twenty) were living outside of Minto inlet, close to the shore of Banks island. In the following winter fully half of the Kanghiryuarmiut joined their northern neighbours, so that the two settlements were about evenly divided. Two families of Prince Albert sound natives whom I met in the

summer of 1915 just north of the Puivlik district, said that the main body of their people had gone to a lake called Tahiryuak close to some copper deposits a day's journey north-east of the sound. They had not met the Kanghiryuatjagmiut that winter, nor did they know of the presence of white men at Cape Kellett. Members of the two groups then would seem to have met in the late spring or summer of that year, either on the ice or somewhere inland. In the winter of 1917-18 again, the Rev. Mr. Girling informs me, some two hundred Kanghiryuak natives were camped a little south of Holman island at the northwest corner of Prince Albert sound. Where the Kanghiryuatjagmiut were at that time he could not say."

1: Jenness--42 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 101

"Mr. Stefansson states that a large group called Ugyulingmiut perished from famine to the north of Minto inlet. The name Ugyulingmiut was vaguely familiar to the natives of Dolphin and Union strait, but they seemed to think that the tribe dwelt somewhere to the eastward. Early explorers located a group with this name in the neighbourhood of King William island. (1)

All the groups or tribes that have now been described, from Dolphin and Union strait in the west to Ogden bay in the east, including Victoria island and Banks island, form a fairly homogeneous unit. The most noticeable variation that could be observed throughout this region was in the intonation of the voice. The natives of Prince Albert sound have a much higher range of inflection than the natives south of them. They speak in high-pitched tones, 'in their heads'as it were, but usually drop to a lower and more normal key at the end of the word or clause. This peculiarity, however, is not confined to Prince Albert sound; it is adopted by some of the Eskimos in Bathurst inlet and farther east, and is said to be characteristic also of the Ekaluktomiut, so that at the present day at least it is not confined to any single area. Apart from this there is

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"1. Cp. Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 456 et seq."

nothing, either in the physical appearance of the natives (2) or in their culture, that would distinguish one group or area from another, while the differences in dialect are infinitesimal. The uniformity of culture throughout the region, and its marked difference from the culture of the Eskimos in all other places, justifies Mr. Stefansson in giving these natives a separate appellation, and his term 'Copper Eskimos' (i.e., Eskimos who use copper instead of stone in their implements) very aptly seizes upon their most striking characteristic."

"2. The physical characteristics of the Copper Eskimos will be dealt with in a separate memoir."

1: Jenness--110-111 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 221

"All through the summer the families that compose each separate group or tribe have been scattered over various fishing and hunting grounds in the interior; but now [AW: in November] they assemble once again at some well-known meeting place on or near the coast. The Akulliakattak natives gather at Lake Akulliakattak, the Noahognirmiut at Chantry island or at the fishing creek four miles east of Bernard harbour, the Coppermine river natives on an island off the mouth of the nearer Kugaryuak river, the Pingangnaktomiut on Hepburn island, and the Kilusiktomiut on one of the Barry islands in Bathurst inlet called Igloryuallik. The Puivlik natives have several places where they may assemble in the autumn. At the beginning of December, 1914, they had a large settlement a short distance from the mouth of the Kimiryuak river. There they were joined by two Noahognik families, who, through lack of food, had crossed the strait and foisted themselves for the time being on their more prosperous neighbours. There were then nine double houses in the settlement, but no dance-house, because the season for visiting was still far off and the men were sufficiently occupied in carrying out their various tasks. Accordingly, the dance they gave in honour [111] of my arrival was held in the portico or domed interspace of one of the larger double huts. The natives remained about a month at this settlement; by that time their clothing was practically

all finished, the ice in the strait was growing more and more solid every day, and everything was ready for their winter sealing. On December 11 about half the people moved down to a sandspit on the coast some four miles away. The remainder, who still had a little more work to finish, postponed moving till the following day, the women staying up most of the night to complete their sewing. I accompanied the later party, with my host and hostess, Haviuyak and Itokanna. We rose about 4 a. m. and breakfasted immediately on frozen deermeat; for the Eskimos having no watches, could not tell in the foggy condition of the atmosphere how long it would be before daylight. We waited idly an hour and a half, then Haviuyak iced the runners of his sled and began to load up, removing the ice window out of his hut and receiving the household goods from his wife through the opening. We started at 9.45 a. m., Itokanna pulling in front of the dogs as usual, and Haviuyak behind, while his father Haviron, who had been ailing for some time, was carried on top of the sled. On reaching the new settlement Haviuyak immediately set about building a hut for himself and his family beside the huts that were already erected."

1: Jenness--246 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 101

"It would seem from Captain Bernard's account that there is only one tribe of Eskimos inhabiting southeast Victoria island, a tribe that he calls Kililarmut, or, in one instance, Kililermiut. This may possibly be a mis-rendering of the word Kiglinirmiut, a term that is often applied to all the inhabitants of Victoria island by the Bathurst inlet Eskimos, and by the Netsilingmiut and Ugyulingmiut to natives coming from the direction of Coronation gulf. (1) The Eskimos whom Lieutenant Hansen met near Taylor island called themselves, as he understood, Kilnermiun, which is another rendering of the same word.

On the other hand both Mr. Stefansson and myself heard of the Ekaluktomiut, a tribe that seals in winter on the ice of Dease strait, and in summer hunts inland on Victoria island and communicates with the Kanghiryuak natives from Prince Albert sound. Moreover, an Anglican missionary, the Rev. E. Hester, visited a village of the Ekaluktomiut in Dease strait in the winter of 1918. Now the Ekaluktok river flows, not into Albert Edward bay, as Mr. Stefansson supposed, but into Wellington bay. There can be little doubt therefore of there being two groups in Dease strait, though in winter they some-

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"1. Schwatka, Science, Vol. IV, 1884, p. 543."

times, perhaps usually, fuse into one. The first group is the Ekaluktomiut, who gather in spring and fall at the head of Wellington bay, and hunt in summer around the head-waters of the Ekaluktok river, in which neighbourhood they meet the Eskimos who have come inland from Prince Albert sound. The other group, the Kililarmiut (or Kiglinirmiut?), gathers in spring and fall at Cambridge bay, where they were encountered both by Captain Bernard and by his predecessor nearly seventy years before, Captain Collinson. The hunting grounds of this second group lie between Cambridge bay and Albert Edward bay (probably there is an easy sled route between the two places), and extends no farther north than about 70° N. latitude. In winter the two groups would unite in the vicinity of the Finlayson islands (2) or in Wellington bay, and work westward in the direction of Coronation gulf to meet the Bathurst inlet people. The united band would then be called indifferently either Ekaluktomiut or Kililarmiut (Kiglinirmiut). Late in the winter a party sometimes travels eastward towards Lind and Taylor islands to hunt the polar bears, but as a rule this part of the coast is little frequented. Rae, it will be remembered, found no indications of Eskimos having recently visited the several points he touched at between Cambridge bay and Pelly point. (3)"

"2. Collinson, p. 284."

"3. Journ. Royal Geogr. Soc, Vol. 22, 1852, p. 89."

1: Jenness--248
116, 101

(1913-16) 1922

Copper Eskimo

"Captain Bernard does not mention the Asiagmiut in his letter, probably because he never fell in with any members of the tribe, who seem to range between Kent peninsula and Ogden bay. Whether they are to be included among the Copper Eskimos, or considered as an intermediate link between them and the eastern Eskimos, must remain for the present uncertain; the geographical position of the tribe favours the latter course. Captain Bernard confirms the reports of earlier explorers as to the location and range of the Netsilingmiut and Ukkusiksaligmiut, but the third tribe of which he speaks, the Eleneremiut, is new to us. It seems to coincide with Schwatka's Ugyulingmiut, who inhabited Adelaide peninsula in the middle of last century, but were gradually merging with the Netsilingmiut. (1) Probably the Eleneremiut are a surviving remnant who clung to their old hunting-grounds around Sherman inlet and Simpson strait. With regard to the Ukkusiksaligmiut it is strange that they have never learned the art of sealing from their neighbours. I imagine that instead of seal oil they use caribou tallow in their lamps during the winter, like the natives on the upper reaches of Backs river, the Saningaiyomiut, who are probably only a branch of the Ukkusiksaligmiut with a little admixture from Hudson bay tribes."

"1. Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 456 et seq."

2: Stefansson--23 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 361

"In the region of the Mackenzie Delta there were a large number of permanently inhabited village sites. By permanent habitation, however, we mean only that there were houses at these places which were occupied regularly year after year at corresponding seasons for a month or more at a time. The most important of the western settlements was that one of the three on Herschel Island which was called Kigirktayuk. This name was sometimes even in the old days applied to the island as a whole, and now that the other two village sites on the island have been abandoned the name for the village has become synonymous for that of the island. Between Herschel Island and the Mackenzie River were several village sites, the most important of which seem to have been Kingak near King Point and Tapkark on the Shingle Point sandspit."

2: Stefansson--23-24 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116

"It is true of all Eskimo tribes that they use for distant tribes other names than those which really belong to those tribes. From the point of view of the Kittegaryuit people, for instance, the people west of the Mackenzie River to and a little beyond Herschel Island were known as the Tuyormiat. The people of Point Barrow and Cape Smythe who were called by themselves the Nuvûgmiut and Utkiavigmiut were called by the Kittegaryuit people collectively Apkvarmiut. All other western people were grouped collectively under the term Nunatagmiut.

Two names that may be used anywhere for one's neighbors up or down the coast were therefore naturally in use in the Mackenzie section. These are Uallinergmiut, the people up the coast, and Kagmalit, the people down the coast. It is an interesting fact that whereas in going west along the mainland coast from Baillie Island west the next people may always be called Uallinergmiut while the next people east are Kagmalit, but to this rule there is one striking exception, the people of the Colville River although living south and east of Point Barrow always spoke of the Barrow people as Kagmalit. This is what one would expect had the Colville people first become familiar with the Barrow people at the time when the Colville tribe were living on the seacoast to the west of Cape Smythe. This is what would have happened had Alaska been peopled by a migration from the east along the coast which had followed the shore around until it got to Kotzebue Sound and had then sent a branch up the Noatak and back down the Colville. [24]

From the point of view of the Mackenzie people, the Baillie Islanders and other comparatively near neighbors to the east were known as Kagmalit but beyond them lived the Nagyuktogmiut. Under this term of Nagyuktogmiut they vaguely grouped all the distant easterners just as they with equal vagueness called the inland Alaskans, Nunatagmiut. Just as we found that the Nunatagmiut were really but one of the many tribes of interior Alaska so we also found later on that Nagyuktogmiut are but one of the many tribes of the Copper Eskimo. Although the name of no other tribe seems to have penetrated as far west as the Mackenzie or if any did penetrate that far they have at least now been forgotten."

2: Stefansson--25-26 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 341

"The Copper Eskimo do not seem ever to have had any permanent houses, so far as we could ascertain from spending the summer in the neighborhood of the Coppermine and from making inquiries from the oldest men. In looking for a characteristic by which to differentiate the eastern from the western Eskimo, it may be difficult to find a better one than this, that the westerners built permanent dwellings of earth and wood while the easterners used only skin tents and snowhouses. If it shall be found, as I suspect, that the distribution of the larger western sled will coincide archaeologically [26] approximately with the area of earth and wood houses, and the long eastern sled with that of the absence of house ruins, these two features will differentiate the two regions with some clearness. So far as we know the big skin boat or umiak was also a characteristic of the western section and absent in the eastern, at least within the last century!"

2: Stefansson--26 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 101

"The Akuliakattagmiut are to be found usually in the late autumn and early winter encamped on the shore of Cape Bexley. This is a trading rendezvous where there come to visit them most or all of the Haneragmiut, a considerable number of the Puiplirmiut and the Noahonirmiut and a sprinkling from other tribes as far removed as the Ekalluktogmiut of the east coast of Victoria Island. Shortly before or after the winter solstice the Akuliakattagmiut move out on the ice of Dolphin and Union Strait for sealing purposes and about the same time the visitors begin to return, each party to its own tribe. Between the tenth and the last of May they will move ashore near Cape Bexley where they cache their stores or seal blubber as well as their spare clothing and household gear, and move inland two or three days' journey south to Akuliakattak Lake, which is said to be the head of Rae River."

2: Stefansson--26
101, 116, 161

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"The Noahonirmiut hunt in winter on the ice of Dolphin and Union Strait in the neighborhood of Liston and Sutton Islands and spend the summer in general on the mainland south of those islands and north of Rae River. This is perhaps the smallest of the recognized subdivisions of the Copper Eskimo on the mainland. Their number is about twenty.

South of the Noahonirmiut in summer are found the Kanianermiut, so called because they inhabit the headwaters (Kangia) of the Pallirk which is their name for the Rae River. These people are also sometimes called the Uallirgmiut. In winter most of these seem to be out on the ice of Coronation Gulf. This is rather an indefinite subdivision sometimes confused with the Pallirmiut proper. The number may be about thirty."

2: Stefansson--27 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 161

"The Kogluktualugmiut are the people who frequent the neighborhood of Tree River (Kogluktualuk). They are also called Utkusiksaligmiut, the dwellers of the place where there is pot stone. . . . The population is about forty. This is the most easterly tribe actually visited by us on their own hunting grounds, although we saw and talked with individuals of other tribes as far east as the Kent Peninsula."

2: Stefansson--27-28 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 161

"Kogluktuaryumiut are in winter on the ice off Gray Bay. In spring they fish at the mouth of the Kogluktuaryuk River where H[illegible]ry found some of them in July, 1903. This is the most westerly tribe seen by Hanbury on [28] his journey with the exception that he saw one family of the Pallirmiut on Dismal Lake. The population is probably about fifty or sixty."

2: Stefansson--28-29 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 221

"We have given roughly the summer location of all the mainland coastal tribes so far as it is known to us, but one district is peculiar in that it is occupied by representatives of a dozen or more tribes. This is the summer hunting district enclosed by a quadrangle formed by the Coppermine River [29] on the east, Great Bear Lake on the south, Dease River on the west, and Dismal Lake and Kendall River on the north. Among two hundred or so people who visited this district and with whom we hunted the summer of 1910, there were representatives of all the mainland tribes from Cape Bexley to the Kent Peninsula as well as the Puiplirmiut and Nagyuktogmiut of Victoria Island."

2: Stefansson--29-30 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 173, 101

"The north coast of Victoria Island east of Collinson Inlet and the east coast north of its middle are supposed to be uninhabited and to have always been so. Collinson Inlet has been visited occasionally by many members of the Kanhiryuarmiut tribe still living, and they have never seen other signs of human habitation than those which they believe to be the traces of the earlier visits of their own people.

Coming to the tribes still in existence, the Kanhiryuarmiut are the most westerly although they draw their name from Prince Albert Sound [30] (Kanghiryuak). They live in winter, most of them, on the southeast coast of Banks Island between Nelson Head and De Salis Bay, where in contradistinction to most other Eskimo tribes they depend for food chiefly on polar bears. A few, however, spend an occasional winter on the southwest corner of Victoria Island near Cape Baring. Two families did so the winter of 1910-1911."

2: Stefansson--32 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 161

"The Nagyuktogmiut were the most easterly tribe of Victoria Islanders visited by us. They told us that the next tribe east of them were called the Kilusiktogmiut. I got no special idea of how numerous they are. I happened to see one or two members of the tribe among the Nagyuktogmiut, but in the press of other things I neglected the opportunity of making careful inquiries as to population. They told me, however, that so far as they knew, the entire south coast of Victoria Island was populated all the way around to Albert Edward Bay and in their opinion about as densely as that portion with which we were familiar. If that be so, it should mean from three to four hundred."

2: Stefansson--33 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 101

"For convenience we have chosen to designate all the various Eskimo groups visited by us in the Coronation Gulf District as the Copper Eskimo. In the preceding discussion and again on the ethnographic map we have given the designations employed by the Eskimo themselves and indicated their conceptions of inter-relationship. In general the cultures of these groups seem to be similar and may be conveniently discussed under one head. Since one of the striking traits of this culture is the use of native copper, the term seems to us quite appropriate as the designation of the general culture group."

2: Stefansson--33 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 166

"This knowledge of place names to the west of Cape Bexley [JMR: i.e., to Cape Lyon] indicates that the Cape Bexley people [JMR: i.e., the Akuliakattagmiut and the Hanerag-miut] are familiar with a stretch of country about two hundred miles to the west of them. To the south, they as a tribe do not seem to be in the habit of going even as far as Dismal Lake. A few members of the tribe do go to Dismal Lake and beyond, but they apparently always do so by a circuitous route, going east into Coronation Gulf and joining one of the local tribes there such as the Kogluktogmiut and accompanying them to Dismal Lake and Great Bear Lake. We found that one family, at least, of the Akuliakattag-miut had been as far east as Tree River."

2: Stefansson--35 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 484

"We know that the people of the vicinity of the Coppermine often follow it in summer south beyond Kendall River, but then they generally come over to the west into the district between Dismal Lake and Bear Lake. We understood that when the people of Bathurst Inlet come to Great Bear Lake, they go well towards the head of the Inlet and then strike approximately straight west for the east end of Great Bear Lake. One group whom we met the summer of 1910 told us that they had come this route. How far south they sometimes go from the head of Bathurst Inlet we do not know, although the chances are that it will be a considerable distance (1).

"1. None of the Eskimo who habitually hunt to Bear Lake on McTavish Bay know that the Dease River flows into the same lake. In fact, they told us definitely that McTavish Bay was a large lake 'like the sea' whose name was Imaryuak; while Dease River, for which they have no name, flowed into a small lake which likewise has no name. As a matter of fact, what they consider two lakes are, of course, but two bays of Bear Lake."

2: Stefansson--39-40 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 101

"Because the Kanghiryuatjiagmiut winter with the Kahiryuarmiut annually and families of either tribe may join the other at any time, we can consider that the range of these [40] two tribes is practically the same, although the more northerly tribe has for its particular hunting ground the country north and east of Minto Inlet."

3: Rasmussen--12 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 101

"We were now among the Copper Eskimos, who are called the Kitlinermiut by all the tribes to the east. Kitlineq is the name of Victoria Land, and with this word, which means boundary, the tribes more to the south undoubtedly mean that the Kitlinermiut live further north than anybody. Like the Netsilik Eskimos, they are a tribe in which they all know one another and often meet at the different hunting grounds; but, like them, they pass under various group names indicating the places where their territory is.

The question was to select a field of operation among all these groups. The people on Kent Peninsula itself call themselves Kitlinguharmiut, but as they had been in close touch with the trading post for many years, even at that time, I preferred a group that was more in its original state. At first I felt inclined to travel over to the Eqalugtôrmiut, the people on the rich salmon rivers around Cambridge Bay; but as both Vilhjalmur Stefánsson and Diamond Jenness had been in Victoria Land, and had described groups further northwest who live under exactly similar natural conditions, I rejected the idea. Then there were the Ahiarmiut, who live between Ogden Bay and Melbourne Island -- undoubtedly the tribe of all Eskimos that live the most nomadic life, and as a consequence the cleverest and most hardy travellers. Sometimes they spend the summer right over on Victoria Land at Albert Bay, and at other times they go so far into the interior on the mainland that they take part in the great trading gatherings that once were so popular in the Akilineq Mountains, right up in the land of the Caribou Eskimos, where they get supplies of wood for their sledges and kayaks on the edge of

the woodlands. But no one was able to tell me definitely where these people lived at this time of the year; some were still far inland, engaged in carrying their stores of dried caribou meat down to the coast; others were already out on the sea ice, commencing sealing at the breathing holes, or on the way to the trading post; so I had to give this tribe up too. Instead, I determined to look for the Umingmaktôrmiut, or Musk-Ox People, who had just settled on the island of Malerisiorfik, not far from Kent Peninsula, where they were now making their first preparations for the winter's sealing. There I would find people who had never been described before. And, as time showed, I had no ultimate cause to regret this choice."

3: Rasmussen--12-13 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 136

"The Umingmaktôrmiut live in close contact with the Kiluhiktormiut, or the People of Bathurst Inlet, having common sealing grounds at certain times of the year. They hunt the caribou in the period from May to October. They make their way in via Hope Bay, [13] a fairly high mountain country that once abounded with musk oxen -- hence the name of Umingmaktôq: that where musk oxen are many. The herds of caribou that used to reach that country came right in from the regions round the great lakes Pelly and Garry, made their way from there down to the shores of Queen Maud Gulf, whence they scattered out over the big peninsula that lies between Bathurst Inlet and Melbourne Island. In former times the herds were so enormous that it would take them three days to cross the delta of a river, even with the animals constantly on the move. These swarms of animals, undoubtedly numbering into the hundreds of thousands, had last summer entirely failed to put in an appearance in the land of the Musk-Ox People; for since the establishment of the trading post at Kent, and the consequent easy access to guns and ammunition, they have been hunted with such energy that the animals no longer dare to follow their old paths; many families had been unable to procure clothing -- new clothing; others had had to content themselves with skins of marmots; so it was no wonder that these skilful men and women were very anxious about the future.

In this country, almost uninhabitable as it is, what could they do if there were no caribou to be had?"

3: Rasmussen--69-71 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-4
116, 101, 161

"Distribution of the population among the western groups of the Copper Eskimos.

The camp at which we had arrived consisted of twenty large, comfortable snow huts quite close to a small island that had the Greenland-sounding name of Ahungahungâq (Asungasungâq), and after this island they called themselves Ahungahungârmiut. Most of them had come from Victoria Land, where up to recent years they had lived under the name of Piuvlermiut; but as caribou had gradually become rare in that region they moved over to the mainland, where they hunt in the interior between Great Bear Lake and the nearest coast north of Stapylton Bay. Among these were my host and hostess, but there were also some of the original mainland dwellers, and others again right up from Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet, so that in a most practical manner I was able to collect material from a wide area all concentrated in one village, thus saving a journey to Prince Albert Sound. I was particularly interested to meet the Kangerjuarmiut, or the people from Prince Albert Sound. Living as they did farthest away, the had often been described by the Umingmaktôrmiut in a more than fantastical manner; for instance they had told me that they were a bloodthirsty folk who often fought amongst themselves with bow and arrow, and that cannibalism was not uncommon among them. They often had frozen corpses to eat just as they have seals; to thaw them they were placed head downwards, and when their faces began to thaw it looked as if they smiled, I was told.

It was not many days before I ascertained that all these people had the same traditions

as the Musk Ox people, even to the smallest detail. Naturally, there were slight differences in their implement culture; but not only were their dialects very similar, but they knew each other's songs and the so-called ancient songs and spirituals; their incantations were often those that were known along the entire coast as far as up to Queen Maud Gulf. Whereas the Netsilik Eski-[70]mos may be looked upon as a separate tribe, all the so-called Kitlinermiut from Ogden Bay to Kent, Bathurst Inlet, Coronation Gulf, the lower part of Coppermine River, Dolphin and Union Strait, and all the people on Victoria Land are, as already stated, a single tribe who simply give themselves different names according to where they happen to be living. They usually are small bands. The villages to the east with their distribution of the population have already been referred to; here I will summarize the groups to the west, though with regard to their cycle of occupations it will be sufficient to refer to the most excellent and penetrating work of Diamond Jenness: The Life of the Copper Eskimos; what Jenness wrote there needs no repetition here.

There are the Agiarmiut, numbering 46 souls: 25 males and 21 females.

The Qorlortormiut, called after Bloody Falls on Coppermine River, totalling 88, of which 53 were males and 35 females. Infanticide is the cause of the great numerical inferiority of the females.

The Nuvungmiut in the region round Cape Krusenstern and Bernard Harbour; unfortunately I have no record of the numbers of the two sexes.

The Ahungahungârmiut, totalling 83: 46 males and 37 females. As already stated, this group comprises the people both from the mainland and from Victoria Land.

The Nägjugtôrmiut on Victoria Land, southeast of the Ahungahungârmiut, in all 30 people: 15 males and 15 females.

And finally the Kangerjuarmiut at Prince Albert Sound and the Kangarjuätjiarmiut at Minto Inlet, in all 122. In the case of these groups I was unable to obtain particulars of the sexes.

This summary of the western part of the district of the Copper Eskimos gives a population of about 439.

To this must be added the groups on the east: the Eqalugtôrmiut 98, (54 males and 44 females); Ahiarmiut 116 (70 males and 46 females); Umingmaktôrmiut 50 (27 males, 23 females), and the Kiluhigtormiut 113 (68 male and 45 females), in all 377.

This gives a grand total of about 816 Copper Eskimos, which corresponds well with Jenness' computation of between seven and eight hundred; it needs no saying that it will always be most difficult to indicate the exact numbers of Eskimo groups living such a nomadic life as they do. Yet it must doubtless be taken into consideration that one will probably arrive at a lower figure than the actual one, as it may easily happen that families out on a hunting trip are overlooked, whereas too many will never be indicated if my method of [71] census-taking is followed, i. e. that of writing down the names of every one in the group.

3: Rasmussen--69-71 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-4
116, 101, 161

The so-called Eastern Eskimos end at Dolphin and Union Strait, the best sealing place I found on my whole journey; the whole stretch from Inman River to Baillie Island is only inhabited either by white trappers or by Eskimos who have come there from Alaska. With Baillie Island begins an entirely new Eskimo culture, closely associated with the hunting of marine mammals and the consequent higher material culture, where all the peoples who live east of this island are at the first stage of evolution to a coast people, and in reality very closely approach the Caribou Eskimos in the interior."

3: Rasmussen--71-72 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 135, 316, 328

"When dealing with the various tribal groups I have already referred to what it was that drove the particularly enterprising out on [72] trading journeys, and what articles of barter could be offered for those one lacked. The whole of the region we have just described had a great and valuable source of wealth in the occurrence of pure copper, both in Bathurst Inlet and some places on Victoria Land, especially on Prince Albert Sound. Of this copper the natives made knives, ulos, ice-picks and harpoon heads, which were highly prized by tribes further away. Diamond Jenness has justly included all these people under the name of The Copper Eskimos."

3; Rasmussen--76 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 621

"The various groups, which are closely connected with one another--and often make mutual visits, hunt together for years at a time, and through intermarriage have become related--are the following: The Ahiarmiut, or the inhabitants of the shores of Queen Maud Sea; the Kêgdlingujârmiut, the people living on Kent Peninsula; the Kûngmiut, who live along a salmon river in Victoria Land west of Cambridge Bay; the Eqalugtôrmiut, likewise at a salmon river close to Cambridge Bay; the Malerisiorfingmiut, who inhabit the country between Kent Peninsula and Bathurst Inlet; the Kiluhigtormiut, at Bathurst Inlet. All these groups say of themselves: We all know one another; in summer we live in our own particular area but meet in winter: we meet for the hunting at the breathing holes, and then there are many of us. It has always been so as far back as people can remember, before the white man came up here. It is these groups that are called the Kigdlinermiut by all those who live more towards the east, whereas among themselves only those who live in Kigdlineq, i. e. Victoria Land, are called Kigdlinermiut."

12: Collinson--166-167 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 157, 411, 511

" On Monday I took a tent with me, and camped over in South Bay, so as to carry my triangulation out in that direction. . . . A party of natives came down on the 23rd, and appeared much afraid of the water, showing some reluctance in getting into the boat. I returned just as they were[167] leaving, but saw enough to confirm the report that they belonged to the Winter Island or central tribe, which we found by Captain Washington's vocabulary and their costume. They did not appear to be very well off as to food or clothing, and but few arrows were tipped with iron."

12: Collinson--283-284
116, 101, 221

(1851-53) 1889

Copper Eskimo

"Remarks on Esquimos.

This perhaps will be the best place to relate the few facts we gathered concerning their habits and customs, and to describe Cambridge Bay.

The costume and dialect agree (as did those we met with last year) with what is described by Sir E. Parry and Sir John Ross; they therefore belong to what Captain Washington in his vocabulary has appropriately termed, 'The Winter Island, Iglulik, or Central tribe.' The line of demarcation between them and the Kotzebue Sound portion will in all probability be found to be the Mackenzie. The [284] number seen by us in this vicinity I estimated at between 200 and 300, of which between 50 and 100 returned in the spring; the inner harbour, the large lake west of Mount Pelly, and the peninsula about Cape Colborne, forming their hunting and fishing ground from May until October; at which period they follow the deer to the mainland, where having first collected together in the neighbourhood of the Finlayson Islands, they winter; but the precise spot we did not discover; it could not, however, have been very far from us, as we were visited continually during the winter. I fully expected to have found them on the Finlayson Islands in the spring, as it was usual for them to come from that direction; but on my visit in April, there were no signs of winter huts, although numerous caches showed them to be a place of great resort."

13: Jenness--81 (1914-1916) 1917 Copper Eskimo
116, 101

"The so-called Central or Copper Eskimos live in part on the northern fringe of the mainland coast of North America in the Coronation Gulf region and in part on the great land mass known as Victoria Island, which lies directly north. The region over which they migrate extends from Stapylton Bay on the west to and beyond Kent Peninsula on the east (Fig. 1).

13: Jenness--81-83 (1914-1916) 1917 Copper Eskimo
116, 101

"It will help our understanding of their customs, and particularly their migrations and trade, if we glance for a moment at their geographical distribution. They live in five groups, each of which again has its minor subdivisions, as follows:

(1) Those who winter in Prince Albert Sound and in the vicinity of Minto Inlet on Victoria Island. The former are known as Kanghiryuarmiut and have been estimated by Stefansson to number about two hundred; (1) the latter, Kanghiryuatjagmiut, are stated by the same authority to consist of three families only, and number therefore about fourteen or fifteen. In the winter of 1915-16, however, many Kanghiryuarmiut joined their northern neighbors, so that the two settlements were about evenly divided. [82]

(2) Those who congregate in Dolphin and Union Strait in winter, around Liston and Sutton Islands. Generally they number about one hundred, and are composed of the subgroups Akulliakattungmiut from Stapylton and South Bays, Noahognirmiut from the large triangular wedge of land that apexes at Cape Krusenstern, and Puivlirmiut from the opposite shore of Victoria Island. Hannerak, the Eskimo name for the southwest

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"1. For an account of the discovery of this tribe see V. Stefansson's "My Life with the Eskimo," New York, 1913, p. 279."

corner of Victoria Island, (2) is only occasionally occupied by the Eskimos in summer, and the Hanneragmiut have ceased to form a separate subdivision of the Copper Eskimos.

(3) Eskimos from the Rae and Coppermine River basins, who gather [83] in winter at the west end of Coronation Gulf and are composed of Pallirmiut from Rae River, Kogluktomiut from the Coppermine, Asiagmiut from the country between the Coppermine and Tree Rivers, and Nagyuktomiut from the opposite side of the strait. They are often called collectively Walliarmiut, from Walliak, the Eskimo name of Richardson River. Their number, like that of all the groups in this region, varies from year to year but may be stated approximately at one hundred.

(4) East Coronation Gulf Eskimos, comprising Tree River natives (Pingangnaktomiut), Nenitagmiut from the country behind Gray Bay, Kilusiktomiut from Arctic Sound, Umingmaktomiut from the east side of Bathurst Inlet, and Kiglingilmiut from the coast of Victoria Island opposite. A few families live inland south of Bathurst Inlet, in the country called Saningaiyok, but they rarely come to the coast. The more western

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"2. For the Eskimo names of geographical features in this region, see the map accompanying V. Stefansson: Victoria Island and the Surrounding Seas, Bull. Amer. Geogr. Soc., Vol. 45, 1913, pp. 93-106."

natives often refer to this eastern group as Kivalirmiut, or the eastern people. Their number is approximately one hundred and fifty.

(5) Dease Strait natives, consisting of Asiagmiut (3) from the country east of Kent Peninsula, and Ekalluktomiut from the southeastern extremity of Victoria Island. Very little is known about these Eskimos, but the natives of the eastern part of Coronation Gulf, with whom they have regular communication, estimate them at about one hundred."

"3. Just off the right margin of the map in 102° W."

27:Chown & Lewis D-5 (1958)1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

[p.13, A]

The Blood Group Genes of the Copper Eskimo[1]

BRUCE CHOWN AND MARION LEWIS
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121 143 [131] This report deals with the blood group and secretor genes of the so-called Copper Eskimo living on Victoria Island and the neighboring mainland, roughly between 100° and 120° west latitude and from the Arctic Circle to 72° north longitude. The report is part of a continuing study under the aegis of the National Museum of Canada of the populations which go to make up the population of Canada.

105 101 [161] The Copper Eskimo form an almost pure-bred population of about 1000 which has been stationary as to numbers since they were first studied by Jenness ('23) in 1913–16. Where they came from and how long they have lived here is unknown. The caribou and seal were their mainstays, providing food, clothing, fuel and housing materials, while in their territory was native copper which they used both for manufacture and for trade. Neither the east nor the west offered greater attractions, while the south was barred by Athapaskan-speaking Indians. It seems probable that they have occupied their present territory for a long time. On the other hand it is not to be imagined that they lived in complete isolation. Their neighbors 300 miles to the west about the delta of the Mackenzie knew of them, but only dimly; they spoke of them as "the people afar off." To the east and southeast they 175 had some slight contact with other Eskimo, and undoubtedly there was some intermar- 648 riage. With the Indians to the south they were apparently in a constant state of war, of small raids of extermination. So the earliest record we have of them is in Samuel Hearne's journal of his journey from Fort Prince of Wales on Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1771; in that venture the Indians who accompanied Hearne killed every Eskimo there encamped. Even so, from tales we were told, it is reasonable to believe that in other raids an occasional Indian woman

[1] [footnotes appear on p. 138 — Analyst]

28: Jennese E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
NDG Copper Eskimo NDG

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE COPPER ESKIMO

INTRODUCTION

In 1914, when the Canadian Arctic Expedition established its headquarters at Bernard Harbour in Dolphin and Union Strait, on the western fringe of Copper Eskimo territory, the natives preserved their old culture, virtually unimpaired, despite contact with several explorers in the middle of the nineteenth century, and with others during the early years of the twentieth. The only visible change caused by these contacts was the introduction of a considerable quantity of iron, which the Eskimo hammered cold, as they hammered their native copper, and had already substituted for copper in knives, adzes, harpoon-heads, and needles. From lack of ammunition the only men who possessed rifles, five in number, had fallen back on the bow and arrow, which was still the universal weapon of the chase. Of the arrows not tipped with bone, about two-thirds bore tips of hammered copper and only one-third tips of iron; the ice chisel and other tools retained their copper blades and points; and the soapstone pot for cooking meat held undisputed sway in every household. All clothing was of skin or fur, mainly from the caribou and the seal; and in cut and adornment it followed without change the styles set by earlier generations. The blubber of the seal, burned in a soapstone lamp, provided the only artificial light, and throughout the winter months all the energies of the Eskimo were concentrated on the pursuit of seals at their breathing holes in the sea ice.

Ten years later the situation had undergone a profound change. Native copper had become practically valueless and served for rivets only. Bows and arrows had disappeared, because every native was now armed with a high-powered rifle. Other weapons and tools had steel or iron blades, metal cooking pots had ousted the soapstone vessels, and primus lamps and kerosene lanterns were spreading from home to home. Fur clothing was tending to follow western Eskimo patterns, and to be overlaid with bead-work, or with imported garments of cotton or wool. Dissatisfied with the old-fashioned snow-hut and skin-covered kayak, one native had even erected a plank cabin heated by an iron stove, and purchased a motor-boat to transport his household goods along the coast during the brief summer months. The tentacles of the fur trade had firmly gripped the region, and the trapping of foxes, animals of no economic importance in earlier times, now rivalled in importance the hunting of seals and caribou.

Fortunately, before this revolution occurred, the Canadian Arctic Expedition had brought out a large collection of Copper Eskimo specimens, nearly all of which are now stored in the National Museum at Ottawa. These specimens, and